

implications for Sudan itself, being on the U.S. list of state sponsors of terrorism and also being the political birthing place for Osama bin Laden, not to mention the NIF's own brand of radical politics, the NIF needed to buy time. It also hadn't, despite a twenty two year war, been able to defeat the SPLA. It was in their interests, at least "for now", to sign. At least signing guaranteed it six and one-half years of protected existence. Who could know what opportunities for a course-correction might materialize within that timespan?

On July 30, 2005 Dr. John de Mabior, the embodiment of the possibility of a united New Sudan, was killed in a helicopter crash. The opportunity had arrived. That very day, I believe, the NIF recalculated its future course of action.

To seize the opportunity, the NIF needed to eliminate the Darfur opposition (civilian and military), destabilize the SPLM, corrupt or abort any potential for a viable referendum, maintain possession of the oil fields of Abyei, and ensure the degradation of the SPLA. The NIF has seen progress on all of these in the last fourteen months.

We are currently witnessing the NIF's attempt to achieve the elimination of its Darfur opposition. Khartoum is attempting to change the realities on the ground in Darfur before the international community gets serious, if that is possible. They believe they have "read" us, the international community, all accurately, the U.S. included. They believe there will be a continued slow response on our part to Darfur's genocide and acceptable limits to whatever actions are ultimately taken. After all, that's been pretty much the case throughout their tenure. Thus, the liquidation of the Darfur opposition is now in motion.

The NIF has successfully marginalized the SPLM within the "Government of National Unity" created by the CPA. The SPLM is largely powerless to affect significant national policy. The NIF has "bought" several SPLM officials and also inserted into the SPLM apparatus other key individuals whose loyalty is to Khartoum. Several veteran SPLM leaders, brilliant, capable men who were critical in achieving the CPA, have now left the country in despair.

The process for undermining the referendum is now underway. The first elections, preliminary to any referendum, are scheduled for 2008. To prepare for them, basic elements, laws and structures must be put in place, especially in a context where there is no history of elections. For example, there has been no proper census in Sudan since 1983. Thus, the architecture for elections is being put in place in a context largely controlled by Khartoum loyalists. And, too, the international community is being of only limited assistance to the SPLM in its conversion from a rebel movement into a nationally competitive political party, a serious shortcoming.

The future of Abyei, a place little understood by outsiders, is a critical issue as it is the repository of a significant amount of Sudan's oil; most of Abyei is an oil field. Currently that oil is being extracted under Government contracts with oil companies from China, with its UN Security Council veto power, Malaysia, India and Sudan itself. Its products are fueling the NIF's war in Darfur. The CPA provided for an Abyei Boundaries Commission (ABC) to determine Abyei's actual borders, so that oil revenues can be properly allocated. The ABC determined the boundaries but President Beshir has rejected it and also the appointment of an interim local government as provided in the CPA. To

buy time as the clock ticks, he refuses to proceed. The highly volatile Abyei area, thus, remains largely in the hands of the Sudanese Army.

The Sudan Peoples Liberation Army is, in many ways, the reason the CPA exists. This rebel army, with very limited resources, could not be defeated by the Sudan army. But that was then; this is now. The balance may be changing. The riches of Khartoum are being used to modernize and equip the Sudan Army. The SPLA is largely as it was several years ago, perhaps even less so. In significant part, this is due to us. Endless debating regarding what the U.S. is authorized to do to the help in the transformation of the SPLA into a modern military force is very dangerous. It could cost South Sudan and potentially all of Sudan tragically in the future. Transformation of the SPLA is the surest guarantee that the CPA will survive.

It is my view the war in Darfur and the survival of the CPA are inextricably entwined, and the NIF sees it. If, through weak international responses to genocide, the NIF succeeds in eliminating its Darfur opposition, and that reality is combined with the reality of the loss of Dr. Garang, the only southern leader who had the stature to compete successfully with Khartoum, the stage is set for the NIF to entirely undermine the CPA. The SPLM can again compete, and its current leadership is trying to so position it, but its recovery from the loss of Dr. Garang and from the destabilization efforts of the NIF will take time. And the clock is ticking.

Based on this analysis, I encourage the following urgent steps:

1. Deploy non-consensually the now-stymied UN protection force. In fact, some of the UN force already in the South, in such places as Wau virtually next door to Darfur, could be moved there quickly. In the meantime, declare and enforce a no-fly zone for Sudan military aircraft throughout Darfur. U.S. resources exist in Djibouti that could be used for enforcement purposes.

2. Provide substantial assistance to the SPLM to empower its participation in governance at all levels. To be seriously competitive as a national political party and to effectively govern the South. The Government of South Sudan also needs assistance in anticorruption efforts, such as setting up an office of Inspector General of Government. Some of these issues were discussed by Salva Kiir, President of South Sudan, when he met with President Bush in July.

3. Focus now urgently on the upcoming interim elections and ultimately the referendum. Time is flying by, given what needs to be accomplished. Monitor preparations in detail and equip the SPLM to be able to fully participate in preparations.

4. Take Abyei seriously. If war breaks out again between the NIF and the SPLM, it will in my estimation likely begin in Abyei. Expose President Beshir's perfidy in delaying. Raise the issue at the UN Security Council and other appropriate forums.

5. Seriously assist the SPLA in its conversion from a rebel force to a modern military. The delays already caused by U.S. persistent bureaucracies have the potential for actually encouraging war and the ultimate loss of life and of the CPA.

6. Finally, given the "no negative consequences" pattern experienced by the NIF for crimes committed, accountability for past, current and future crimes is a critical issue. Unfortunately for Sudanese, the International Criminal Court seems to have disappeared. An internationally agreed-on system of accountability is desperately needed for Sudan's atrocities. The U.S. should ac-

tively take leadership in addressing this crying need.

Believe me, we are in really dangerous times regarding Sudan. It could happen that the CPA is stamped "CANCELLED", along with an incredible additional number of Sudanese lives. And if that happened, it would blot out one of the finest U.S. initiatives of the last decade.

HONORING THE KANSAS CITY HISPANIC NEWS ON THEIR TENTH ANNIVERSARY

HON. EMANUEL CLEAVER

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 21, 2006

Mr. CLEAVER. Mr. Speaker, during this Hispanic Heritage Month, I proudly rise today to pay tribute to Americans of Hispanic descent in my District. Joe and Ramona Arce, owners of Arce Communications, Inc., which publishes the Kansas City Hispanic News, are celebrating the Tenth Anniversary of the start of their local Hispanic publication. On September 16, 1996, the Arce family: Joe, Ramona, their daughters, Lisa and Rachel, along with the assistance of family friends, Jesus Ortiz and Kathleen Cruden, set out on their journey of providing informative local news on topics of interest for the growing Latino community in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area with their first ten page bilingual newsprint.

Mr. Joe Arce—a product of Kansas City, Missouri's Westside neighborhood, a proud long-standing Mexican-American neighborhood—has a long history of civic involvement and long been known as an advocate of the Latino community, having served on the Boards of many local non-profit organizations, such as the Guadalupe Centers, the Hispanic Media Association, and the Center for Management Assistance. He has also served on Advisory Boards, including with the Cabot Westside Clinic and Heart of America United Way. With over 25 years of news experience, both as a cameraman and reporter at WDAF-TV Channel 4, Joe and his family envisioned the formation of a new vehicle by which they could "transmit" the stories of local people as opposed to those carried in the mainstream metropolitan papers. I am proud of the Arce family's accomplishment, by reaching their goal of providing in-depth stories to the readership of the Greater Kansas City Area. The Kansas City Hispanic News has emerged as an important link between the local Latino community and the general public. Joe and Ramona Arce have demonstrated how a passion to obtain newsworthy information and a motivation to distribute valuable information can improve a community.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that you and our colleagues in the 109th Congress please join me in saluting the Arce Family and the Kansas City Hispanic News for their years of dedicated service to the Greater Kansas City Metropolitan Area. Joe and Ramona, thank you for all your hard work in providing a quality newspaper for our community and congratulations on your 10th Anniversary.